



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN VIEW AS TO THE MONROE DOCTRINE¹

BY PAXTON HIBBEN.

It is not my purpose to speak to you at any length on the Monroe Doctrine, albeit I have very positive opinions on every phase of that most vital international question, which has been so ably treated by other speakers. I wish merely to protest, and to protest very earnestly, against what I must believe the impractical idealism of a view, not only of the Monroe Doctrine, but of the proper Latin-American policy for the United States to pursue, which seems in recent years to have grown like a prodigious snowball, simply by being pushed about from hand to hand by the political philosophers of this country. I refer to that view so eloquently presented to you this morning by Mr. John Barrett—that the United States invite to join them, in their maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, those nations of South America which, in Colonel Roosevelt's phrase, have "risen to a sufficient point of economic well-being, of stable and orderly government, of power to do justice to others and to exact justice from others, and therefore of potential armed strength to enable them thus to act as guarantors of the doctrine."

In my own humble opinion the Monroe Doctrine is not and should not be a cardinal principle of Pan-American policy, nor a tie to bind us to our sister republics of the south. It has had its privileges through ninety years that we have been comparatively free under its operation from the threat of European aggression in this hemisphere. It has its responsibilities of which I, for one, think we may not in honor lightly discharge ourselves. But the privileges and the responsibilities are ours, and ours alone. We may not share them. And, frankly, not one of the three great republics at the southern extremity of South America for a moment desires to share them with us. Those who claim that the Argentine, Brazil and Chili, and perhaps Uruguay, are eager or even willing to join with us in any closer bond than that which unites friendly nations, have erected in their imagination an alluring mirage which they will never, I believe, attain.

¹ Remarks at the session of the Academy, Friday afternoon, April 3, 1914.

Colonel Roosevelt's words on this subject have been quoted to you. Yet curiously enough, those of Dr. Marcial Martinez in reply to Colonel Roosevelt's address before the University of Chili, on November 22 last, make no part of the record of these proceedings. It is that they shall be recorded here that I have ventured to intrude upon your time.

For Dr. Marcial Martinez is a very old and a very wise and prudent statesman. In his lifetime he has himself seen the growth not only of his own country, but of the Argentine and Brazil as well, to a condition of power to do justice to others and to exact justice from others, and his words reflect better, I think, than those of any other man in the countries of which I speak—a crystallization of opinion which is the product of the development and prosperity of those nations in whose history he has played no minor rôle.

I quote only part of Dr. Martinez's remarks:

"My frankly stated opinion," he says, "is that the Monroe Doctrine has lived out its time, has ceased to exist." And again: "Clear and definite situations are always preferable to the vaguenesses, the uncertainties and the anomalies to which the lapsed Monroe Doctrine lent itself"—unminced words to address to one bearing the suggestion that the Monroe Doctrine be accepted and maintained by certain republics of South America in concert with the United States! And Dr. Martinez goes on to define very clearly that situation which he and, I believe, the ablest minds of Latin America consider preferable to the Monroe Doctrine.

"The eminent Mr. Roosevelt," he continues, "has frequently spoken, in the course of his present triumphal journey, of 'confidence.' But confidence, like religious faith, can be no matter of agreements nor of decrees, nor of contracts, unless it be an actual fact, emanating from a reciprocal experience, from individual conviction and personal conscience."

And in regard to all the treaties which we have been at such pains to make or the making of which we have been at such pains to stimulate, since the idea first occurred to Mr. Elihu Root to legislate peace into the hearts of the denizens of this hemisphere, by means of a fine network of conventions of arbitration, Dr. Marcial Martinez pronounces this final judgment:

I believe it will always be a wise counsel to suggest to the American Republics: that they celebrate few if any new treaties with the idea of strengthening

their reciprocal friendship. What is of real value are cordial and effective demonstrations of palpable good faith, of probity and disinterestedness in political and commercial relations, which conduce to the result for which we all hope, instead of words evaporating into nothingness. . . .

Another point upon which I would touch briefly is that of international arbitration. My way of thinking, deeply rooted in my mind, brings me to this complex conclusion: I think that the very ancient idea of universal peace, which nowadays is enjoying an extraordinary recrudescence, is a beautiful illusion, a noble chimera which lends itself to dangerous sophistries. . . .

One idea which is absolutely fixed with me is that arbitration is not an adequate means to the conservation of peace. Extensive study and careful observation have convinced me long since that this method suffers from numerous and very grave defects. This is not the moment to enlarge upon these ideas; what I advise, and what I wish is that those distinguished men, who busy themselves in recommending arbitration, shall regard with favor the employment of every energy to promote the idea of direct understandings, of conciliation, of compromise and fraternal agreement. This is the great formula for friendship, and consequently for international peace. An understanding leaves no bitterness behind it, whereas an adverse decision leaves ice on the soul of the loser. . . .

Whatever must be brought about between this powerful country, the United States, and the South American Republics, will come of itself. Sympathy, loyal and honorable treatment, proximity, an intimacy as close as possible between the men directing the destinies of these peoples, and especially reciprocal interests will of themselves effect a political and an economic entente. There is need of no artificial measures, for they are ever fragile and often unproductive. The play of the natural laws of human progress must be left free.

As it has seemed to me manifestly inadequate to consider the present status of the Monroe Doctrine without taking into account this view of the relations between the United States and their sister republics of this hemisphere, which I firmly believe is the prevailing view in the greater part of what we call Latin America, I am grateful to this assemblage for this opportunity to read into the records of the American Academy of Political and Social Science a conception of our relations with Latin America which has found no other expression here.